

The AMERICAN OBSERVER

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe



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Radicals Advocate Production for Use

Claim Profit System Unable to Distribute Goods in Age of Mass Production Development

REFORMS HELD INSUFFICIENT

Complete Overhauling of Economic System Believed Only Effective Remedy

This is the third of a series of three articles explaining as many different points of view relative to the economic and political situation. In the first two we presented views which represent a large body of conservative and a large body of liberal opinion. In this article we describe a body of opinion which may be regarded as radical. The views expressed in these articles are not to be taken as the opinions of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. We are merely reporting states of opinion which are to be observed in present-day America. This week we explain some of the representative radical beliefs without either endorsing or denying them.

We come now to the consideration of a point of view which may be described as more radical than the others. The term "radical" is often misused. Many people think of it as being rash or uncontrolled or irresponsible. It may be all that or it may not. The radical may be a soap-box orator or a thoughtful economist. He is distinguished from conservatives and liberals in that he believes very drastic changes in government or business, or both, are necessary. To get at the true meaning of the term, we may do well to look at the derivation of the word. "Radical" is derived from the Latin term *radix* which means "root," or *radicalis*, which means "having roots." Radicals, accordingly, are those who believe that surface changes are not enough, but that we should go to the root of our systems of government and economics and make decided alterations in them.

The Radical Viewpoint

We shall not consider here the writings of agitators. We will take up, rather, the views of thoughtful economists and writers who are interpreting the present economic and political situation, and who believe that we can maintain stable and relatively prosperous conditions only by bringing about far more sweeping reforms than either conservatives or liberals support. Among the recent books which outline such a philosophy very forcefully, the following may be named: George Soule's "The Coming American Revolution;" "Challenge to the New Deal," edited by Bingham and Rodman; Stuart Chase's "The Economy of Abundance." These books are popular in nature and easy reading. More difficult but very valuable are Lewis Corey's "The Decline of American Capitalism" and John Strachey's "The Coming Struggle for Power." The description of radicalism which we shall give is not to be taken as the expression of any one of these writers, but it does outline the views commonly held by the exponents of economic radicalism. Here, quite briefly, is the radical position:

We are suffering now from something more than an ordinary depression. We are threatened with the permanent loss of the relative prosperity which we have enjoyed in the past. To see how and why that is

(Continued on page 6)

American Education Week



**VISIT YOUR SCHOOLS
November 5-11, 1934**

—Courtesy National Education Association
THE EYES OF THE NATION TURN TO THE SCHOOLS THIS WEEK

Thoughts for Education Week

For several years, it has been the custom to set aside a week early in November for a special consideration of the problems of education. This year Education Week falls on the dates November 5 to 12. The 1934 celebration of the week takes on an additional significance inasmuch as it marks the 300th anniversary of the bringing of the secondary schools to America. The country may, therefore, look back across three centuries to contemplate the progress of the American high school.

As we look back over the past and as we observe the achievements of the present, we find much cause for pride and satisfaction. During recent years secondary education has made gigantic strides in the United States. Only a generation ago it was quite unusual for a boy or girl to go to high school. The high school graduate was a rarity. Now in most communities it has come about that a secondary education is the expected lot of every boy and girl.

But if there were occasion for nothing but pride and satisfaction in the contemplation of our educational situation it would not be worth while to set aside a special education week. It is worth our while to take time to think about the schools and their work only if improvement is necessary or if vigilance is required in order to maintain the progress which has been made. As a matter of fact, there is need for careful thought and planning in order that the American educational dream may be realized. We have gone far in the direction of the fulfillment of that dream. But we will not have reached the goal until educational opportunity is opened in equal measure to all the young people of this nation. There are large sections of the country where youth does not have a chance for adequate training. There are large groups to whom the equality of opportunity is denied. One-tenth of our population is colored and only a tenth as much is spent for the education of the average colored child as for the average white child. Furthermore, there are millions of families whose children go to school but who live under such conditions of poverty as not to insure those educational advantages of home life which are so essential as supplements to the training which is afforded in institutions.

The people of America have been generous in offering educational privileges to all the young people of the nation so long as only a few of the young people took advantage of the offer. Now that the whole young population threatens to turn up at the high schools and an increasing number at the colleges, purse strings are being tightened. A real issue develops as to whether the schools of this nation will have in the future the magnificent financial support they have been accorded in the past. How that continuing support may be insured in the years to come is a question which may well command the attention of Americans as they celebrate this Education Week.

Nations Clash Over Naval Disarmament

London Discussions Show Conflicting Views of Japanese and Anglo-American Delegates

JAPAN DEMANDS SEA EQUALITY

Seeks Abolition of Ratio System Established by 1922 and 1930 Treaties

For several weeks now, the question of naval disarmament or limitation has loomed large in the field of international relations. At the present time, the three great sea powers of the world—Great Britain, the United States and Japan—are engaged in conversations in London on this very question. Informal conversations among statesmen of the three countries are taking place daily in an effort to come to some agreement about the size of their various navies. Our own country is represented by our roving ambassador, Norman H. Davis, and Admiral William Standley; while the British position is being set forth by Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, Foreign Minister Sir John Simon, and high officials of the British navy; and the Japanese by that arch-militarist and big-navy man, Isoroku Yamamoto, and the Japanese ambassador in London, Tsuneo Matsudaira.

London Conversations

This is not the first time such conversations have been held in London. Last summer, in June and July, Japanese, British and American spokesmen held lengthy conversations about naval matters in an attempt to iron out many of the difficulties which separated them. But after several weeks of bickering the diplomats packed their bags and went home, having accomplished practically nothing. Now they are starting all over again and the prospects are that the present conversations will be just as much a failure as the earlier ones.

And yet, the naval problem is extremely urgent. Plans for a general naval conference for 1935 have long been afoot. It is a well-known fact that if the great sea powers cannot come to some sort of an agreement beforehand it will be a futile gesture to hold the conference at all. At least the major conflicts will have to be settled in advance or the whole thing is more than likely to blow up. Thus the whole future of naval armaments is vitally wrapped up in the present preliminary conversations in London.

The 1935 naval conference is made necessary by two facts. In the first place, the London naval treaty of 1930, affecting the size of the Japanese, American and British navies, automatically expires at the end of 1936, and a new arrangement will have to be made before that time if naval limitation is to continue. The other fact is that the Washington naval pact, concluded in 1922, will expire at the same time if Japan serves notice before December 31 of this year that she will no longer be bound by its terms. Japan has the right to do this by the terms of the Washington treaty itself, and she has let the rest of the world know that she intends to avail herself of this privilege. It is apparent, therefore, that in the absence of a

(Concluded on page 7)

Notes From the News

The Legion Votes for the Bonus; A. F. of L. Asks Production Spur; Federal Action to Curb Lynching Urged; New Strikes Break Out

IN SPITE of appeals by President Roosevelt and many other public officials, delegates to the American Legion convention in Miami have demanded immediate payment of the bonus by a vote of 987 to 183. Those in favor of payment, led by Representative Wright Patman of Texas, were so eager to settle the issue by a vote that National Commander Edward Hayes had difficulty in securing a hearing for the veterans who opposed it. Four states voted "no" on the proposal, amid the boos and hisses of the majority. As approved, the resolution denied that the Legion was setting special interest before the good of the nation, and asserted that payment of the bonus now, instead of in 1945 when it is legally due, would be in accord with the government's policy of promoting recovery by heavy expenditures. Payment would involve an outlay of \$2,506,000,000, to be appropriated by act of Congress. The Legion's action at Miami means that its powerful Washington lobby will immediately endeavor to "sound out" members of Congress on their attitude, in the hope of lining up enough votes to override the veto which President Roosevelt has promised to write on any bonus payment bill at the present time.



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EDWARD HAYES

A. F. L. Reports More Idle; Asks Increase in Production

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor issued figures estimating that the number of unemployed during September, 1934, was greater than in September of the year previous by 843,000, and greater than it has been since the president's reemployment program first got under way. Two employment estimates generally accepted by statisticians are the Federation's and those of the National Industrial Conference. The figures presented by the Federation put the number of jobless at 10,951,000 as compared with 10,108,000 in September, 1933; those of the National Industrial Conference placed the total number of unemployed at a lower figure but agreed that they had increased over last year. This increase prompted President Green to declare that industrial production must be raised 30 per cent to take up the slack. He suggested that in conference with President Roosevelt industrialists might "coöperate in a general program to increase production and put men to work."

Government Urged to Act in Lynching of Florida Negro

Indignation caused by a lynching in Florida by a mob which kidnapped its victim from an Alabama jail caused numerous organizations to agitate for action under the federal kidnapping law, and revived sentiment for the passage of a federal anti-lynching law. Claude Neal, a Negro arrested on a charge of murder, had been jailed in Brewton, Alabama, across the state line from Florida. A mob from Marianna, Florida, near which his victim had lived, invaded Brewton, seized the prisoner and carried him back to Marianna, where he was held all day and lynched at nightfall. The danger of a lynching had been known to authorities, but Governor Dave Sholtz was informed by the local sheriff that state troops to prevent mob violence would not be necessary. After the lynching, Governor Sholtz ordered national guards to Marianna to protect the Negro population, and issued a statement declaring: "There is absolutely no excuse for mob law in a state which deals so promptly with criminals of this character."

Appeals to Washington were made on the ground that the mob had violated the law which makes it a federal offense for kidnappers to carry their victim across

state lines. In response to appeals from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Senator Robert Wagner of New York stated that he would "reintroduce in January the anti-lynching bill which Senator Costigan and I endeavored to get through Congress last session."

Strike Spreads to Milwaukee As A. & P. Leaves Cleveland

As a result of difficulties with union workmen, the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company announced that it had permanently withdrawn from business in the area of Cleveland, Ohio. The decision, which startled the nation by its abruptness, grew out of picketing activities by local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The unions charged that the A. & P. stores had discharged employees in violation of section 7a of NRA, and refused to reinstate them. Consequently they organized picket lines and finally endeavored to force a shut-down and prevent the delivery of merchandise until the stores were unionized. The A. & P. sent an appeal for mediation to Mayor Davis. It went unanswered. Thereupon the company closed its 428 stores, discharged 2,200 employees, and announced its decision to withdraw from business. After denying that the company had any difficulties with its own employees, and asserting that it had been "one of the first to assent to the president's recovery policies," the company declared that it preferred to leave Cleveland rather than hire the number of guards necessary to protect its stores and assure the safe delivery of merchandise. Union workers regarded the action as a threat to intimidate employees. In Milwaukee the butchers' union called its members in A. & P. stores out on strike, and union butchers in Ohio's A. & P. stores threatened to walk out in a body.

Farley's Attitude on Patronage Brings Demand for Resignation

His habit of writing political letters brought a great deal of trouble during the week to Postmaster General James A. Farley, who distributes "patronage" for the Democratic party. Robert Moses, Republican candidate for governor of New York, made public a letter written three years ago in which Mr. Farley declared that in his opinion appointments to government positions should be made on the basis of party regularity rather than on the basis of merit. When the letter was called to his attention, the postmaster general declared: "The views I held in 1931 I hold today." But publication of a letter in which he urged California Democrats to work for the election of Upton Sinclair,



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ACROSS THE CONTINENT IN 57 HOURS

Attaining a top speed of 120 miles an hour, this streamlined Diesel-powered Union Pacific train set a new record recently. It opens a new era in rail transportation.

the Socialist who is running for governor on a Democratic ticket, brought a prompt statement from Mr. Farley that the letters were sent out by a clerical error. Many supporters of the administration as well as its opponents declared that the postmaster general's interference in local elections, and his attitude on patronage, are harmful to the prestige of the government, and demanded that he be induced to resign.

Sinclair Deserted by Creel But Refuses to Abandon Race

The campaign of Upton Sinclair, the one-time Socialist, for the governorship of California was cut completely adrift from normal Democratic moorings when George Creel, his unsuccessful rival for the Democratic nomination, withdrew his support from Sinclair and denounced the EPIC plan as a "hare-brained scheme." In a long letter to Mr. Sinclair which he released to the press, Mr. Creel, who was head of the government's propaganda bureau in the World War, stated that he had promised his support on the understanding that Candidate Sinclair would abandon EPIC and campaign on a liberal Democratic platform drawn up by regular party members. The publication of a pamphlet called "Immediate Epic" in which Sinclair outlined his radical program meant, according to Mr. Creel, that his promise had been broken.

As a result of this development, coupled with a *Literary Digest* straw vote showing Acting Governor Merriam far in the lead for reelection, efforts were made to have Sinclair withdraw from the race. He and Raymond Haight, candidate of the Progressive and Commonwealth parties, met to discuss the situation, but both of them refused to retire from the race.

The Governmental Record

The President: Opened the 1934 "Mobilization for Human Needs," an annual campaign for private contributions to care for the unemployed. He stressed the need for easing the relief burden by contributing to community chests and similar devices and pleaded that citizens do everything possible to lighten the heavy load of expenditures now borne by federal, state and local governments. Addressed the convention of the American Bankers' Association and established more cordial relations between the bankers and the administration. He assured them that government expenditures will be reduced as fast as unemployment conditions permit.

Agricultural Adjustment Administration: Found itself faced with two contradictory court decisions. At Boston, where the Hoosac Mills Corporation questioned the legality of a tax imposed by the AAA, Federal District Judge Brewster held the act constitutional. At the same time Judge Dewey, of the federal district court for southern Iowa, decided that the federal government had no legal right to interfere with a dairy establishment for failing to live up to the AAA license requirements. A far-reaching decision of the Supreme Court is expected soon to clear the atmosphere.

Public Works Administration: Loaned \$2,270,000 to five railroads for the purpose of building high-speed streamlined trains, similar to the Union Pacific train that established a transcontinental speed record last week.

Secretary of Agriculture: Condemned the destructive misuse of land in the United States. "Over large areas the American record," he declared, "is worse than the Chinese, for we have made no real effort to restore to the soil the fertility which has been removed." The secretary warned that continuation of such policies would "destroy our civilization."

Department of Justice: Moved into its spacious new quarters in the recently constructed \$9,900,000 building that is to be its first permanent home. The building contains every known device that would be of aid in detecting criminals, including technical laboratories, ultra-violet ray rooms, fingerprint files, pistol ranges and a museum containing relics of past crimes.

Federal Emergency Relief Administration: Outlined plans for additional rural-industrial communities and reported satisfactory progress in such projects already under way. These colonies consist of small farms established by the government to enable unemployed men to raise their own food and some central industry in which the farmers can augment their incomes by part-time work. The farms are to be paid for in easy installments over a long period of years.

National Labor Relations Board: Decided in the case of Detroit bus employees that a minority group of the workers could not choose their own delegate to represent them in collective bargaining (dealing with an employer as a group). The board ruled that all the workers must accept the representative elected by the majority. This is considered an important decision because it sets a precedent for similar cases that are sure to arise.

Soil Erosion Service: Announced a plan to hire 1,000 college graduates to work for the Service and at the same time receive training courses. At the end of six or eight months qualified students are to be given permanent government posts in this department.



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ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES
Duke University, at Durham, North Carolina, and its 5,000-acre campus.

AROUND THE WORLD

Germany: The widespread opposition to the high-handed policies of August Jaeger, National Bishop Mueller's right-hand man, finally forced him to resign his office of civil administrator. The Independent Protestants and Hitler's German Christian Society, however, were still far from satisfied. They felt that Jaeger had resigned in name only and that he still continued to be Mueller's legal adviser. Two days after his resignation the National Socialists went a step further and compelled Jaeger to give up all his former authority.

But there is no doubt that the Nazis are yielding to the strong opposition against the idea of a state-controlled national church. It has been found, for example, that Jaeger's resignation was not voluntary, but had been demanded by Nazi party officials. Furthermore, the October 28 meeting of Nazi district commanders accused National Bishop Mueller of being a burden to his country and his party. Even the provincial bishops that were appointed by Mueller himself have criticized his policies.

Meanwhile, Bishop Mueller's opponents are gaining strength. The independent Bishops Meiser of Bavaria and Wurm of Wuerttemberg have both been freed from the "protective custody" under which they had been confined for several weeks. Bishop Meiser plans to interview Hitler in Berlin and discuss the problems of the Protestant church with him. His followers now insist that Mueller follow Jaeger's lead and resign his position as National Bishop.

Italy: The United States delegates to the Rome Conference of the International Institute of Agriculture are Rexford G. Tugwell and Dr. Henry C. Taylor. The conference, attended by representatives of 68 countries, has been called to discuss methods of facilitating exchange of agricultural products.

On October 24, Mr. Tugwell, who is the assistant secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture, delivered a speech which may indicate a change in American tariff policies. He proposed that the nations get together and attempt to decide approximately how much of each product is needed, and which countries are best suited, both climatically and geographically, to produce a world's supply of each product. The nations will then conclude agreements to put these plans into effect.

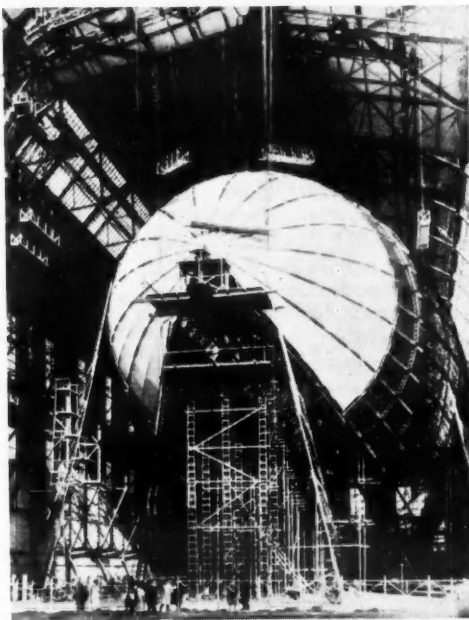
America has long followed a system of protective tariffs in order to become self-sufficient in her supply of agricultural products. Tugwell's plan would involve a radical departure from this time-honored policy.

Mexico: The Mexicans, like the Germans, are facing a religious problem. But the situation in Mexico is so different from that in Germany that some explanation is in order: For 10 years the Mexican government has been in the hands of the National Revolutionary Party. The present Mexican president is Rodriguez; the president-elect is Cardenas. But neither matters particularly, for the real leader of the party and the power behind the presidential chair is ex-president Plutarco Calles. His policies are known as "Callism."

On the surface, the program of Calles and his National Revolutionary Party is socialistic. When the party came into power in 1924, it promised to divide up

the large estates among the poor landless Mexicans, to inaugurate a new school system, to institute labor reforms and to crush the power of the Catholic church.

But promises are easy to make. In the 10 years that have elapsed, less than one-fortieth of the land has been distributed to



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GERMANY'S NEW ZEPPELIN
The successor to the famous Graf is now being constructed at Friedrichshafen.

about a quarter of those that needed it. What labor reforms there have been were not properly executed. The natural result was that the popularity of Callism began to roll downhill.

The party met opposition by making new promises. In order to regain support, it has endeavored to arouse popular hostility against the Catholic church. Its recent laws restrict the number of priests that may preach in each state, and forbid Catholic religious teaching in the public schools. There have been clashes between angry Catholics and the police, and a number of priests and bishops have been compelled to leave the country.

Although such tactics have aroused the bitter opposition of Catholics, the government's new educational policies have been enthusiastically received by large numbers of peasants and workers. On October 28, a parade of 200,000 of them marched through Mexico City, applauding the government's stand against the church. An attempt by the Catholics to stage a parade of their own was stopped by the police.

France: Last February, when France very nearly had a civil war on her hands, Gaston Doumergue came out of retirement to lead his country back to peace and order. Before he leaves his position as prime minister, he hopes to make such changes in the French constitution as to increase the strength of the government. These are his chief proposals:

1. To give the premier and his cabinet the power to dismiss the Chamber of Deputies (French House of Representatives) in case it should disagree with the cabinet on an important matter.

2. To deny the right of the chamber to spend government funds.

It is the first of these that has aroused the greatest opposition. French statesmen are unwilling to give too much power to the premier for fear he may go still further and become a dictator, just as Mussolini has done in Italy, and Hitler in Germany.

But in the past there have been so many party groups in the Chamber of Deputies, voting first one way and then another, that the cabinet and chamber are continually disagreeing. The result is that one cabinet after another has fallen from power. French people are tired of the constant changes in government and consequently are disposed to listen to Doumergue's proposals, even though political leaders oppose them.

Last week, Doumergue's own party, the Radical Socialists, met in conference at Nantes. There was some opposition to Doumergue but his popular support counted strongly in his favor, and the conference resolved to support most of his proposals. They would not agree to give the premier power to dissolve the chamber, but authorized their leader, Herriot, to confer with Doumergue and evolve some plan that may give longer lives to French cabinets.

Siam: Until two years ago, Siam was one of the two absolute monarchies left in the world. But at that time there was a bloodless revolution, and it became a limited monarchy. Strangely enough, King Prajadhipok did not mind in the least. He had been educated in England and felt rather proud of his people for assuming governmental responsibilities. He went so far as to aid in drafting the new constitution. Now he threatens to abdicate, chiefly because the present government is not democratic enough to suit him.

For centuries the kings of Siam have enjoyed the power of life and death over their subjects. Recently, the Siamese legislature voted to remove this power. Instead, it proposed that any prisoner condemned to death should have 60 days' grace, during which he might petition the king for mercy. If the petition was not acted upon in that time, the condemned man was to die. The proposal was vetoed by the king. He said he would accept it if the time limit were removed and the execution of the sentence were suspended until the king had acted upon the petition. But the legislature would not agree. Thereupon, the king demanded that an appeal be made to the people on so important a question. The legislature again refused. The king, feeling that he could no longer protect the rights and liberties of his people, replied that unless the legislature consented to popular appeal, he would leave his throne.

Since the king is popular among the common people, it seems very likely they would support his stand against the legislature. Only half the present legislature was elected by the people, and that half is almost solidly behind their king.

Great Britain:

Five thousand people a year are killed in Great Britain's automobile accidents. In order to cut down the death roll, the new minister of transport, young and vigorous Mr. Leslie Hore-

Belisha, has inaugurated a campaign that is attracting the keenest interest all through Great Britain. He has installed new safety devices: yellow "Belisha beacons," aluminum road studs, safety zones for pedestrians; he has taken crowds of newspaper writers on trips of inspection; he has publicly applauded accident-less towns, and denounced those in which fatal accidents are frequent. He proclaims his determination to put a stop to "mass murder on the highway." In a recent speech, he remarked, "If only I were a Mussolini, I would get the unemployed to put down 100,000 safety lines in a night."

Japan: The Japanese have recently taken steps which the rest of the world construes as a further violation of the open-door policy. The latest of these deals with a proposed oil monopoly for Manchoukuo, the Japanese-controlled puppet-state erected over the former Chinese province of Manchuria.

Under the proposed arrangement, the government of Manchoukuo would refine and sell all oil in the country. Both Great Britain and the United States have lodged protests with the government in Tokyo against the establishment of the oil monopoly, claiming that it would constitute a violation of the open-door policy since it would deprive foreign oil producers of their equal commercial rights. The outside world feels that if Japan succeeds in driving out the foreign oil interests from Manchoukuo, it will be only a matter of time until she does the same thing with other commercial interests operating on Manchoukuoan soil. The foreign oil interests have pointed out that at present oil imported into Manchoukuo by way of Japan pays a lower rate of duty than oil imported directly into the puppet-state. Such an arrangement is, of course, a direct violation of the principle of equal commercial rights. Despite the fact that Japan wanted to keep the oil dispute out of the naval conversations at London, the Americans and British have broached the subject.



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A REMARKABLE FLIGHT RE-ENACTED
During the closing days of the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago, the Ford Motor Company re-enacted the spectacular England-to-Australia air race, using the largest globe ever built.



As the Editor Sees It

Weekly Reflections on Events, Trends and Movements

By Walter E. Myer

SINCE early in September we have been devoting this page of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER to studies of local governmental and economic problems. We have been pointing out the necessity of participation by citizens in the work of community betterment and we have been advising courses by which such participation may be effectively carried on. The nine weeks which we have maintained this department, which we have called "You and Your Community," have coincided with the first half of the school semester. We hope that students have been helped by these discussions to put into practice the ideas they gain through their studies of social science and public affairs.

During the coming weeks we shall continue to stress community problems on this page and we shall go ahead suggesting methods of successful political participation. But we shall give less exclusive attention to problems of local concern. As the title at the top of the page may indicate, I am going to use these columns as my opportunity for a short, weekly chat with our readers. Briefly and informally I will undertake to explain the significance and to interpret the meaning of outstanding events and issues. Sometimes I will refer to books or magazines which I have read, and now and then I may give my impressions of men or movements, trying always to direct attention to facts which may be useful to the reader who wishes to glean a real political education from his observation of the mass of happenings and ideas and propaganda which come to his notice.

FROM time to time we have suggested the formation of Junior Citizens' Councils in the schools, or clubs of some sort, in order that students who are interested may have a chance to discuss public problems freely, that they may find new sources of information and may plan means whereby they may get into action in behalf of the programs they would like to advance. I am glad to report that these discussion groups are being organized in a number of schools.

There are a good many indications that a youth movement of some proportions may be getting under way in this country. It is belated even now, for in many other countries young men and women, conscious of the like-mindedness of youth, have long been forming into organizations. In some places the principal idea is cultural and recreational. In England and Germany hiking clubs have been formed in countless communities and the young people walk about over the country in groups, stopping at the youth shelters or hostels. Frequently the clubs have political interests. Very often we find young men and women playing important parts in foreign political movements.

ONE problem which is particularly troublesome in nearly every community of the nation is the problem of the liquor traffic. A good many people appear to think that that issue was settled when prohibition was repealed. They should have known better. They would have known better if they had been careful students of the history of attempts at liquor regulation. There was a menacing liquor problem in every city, village and hamlet of the land before we had prohibition. That is why the experiment in prohibition was tried, but the problem continued because the laws were not, and apparently could not be, enforced. Then the people took another broad swipe at a complex set of difficulties and wiped the pro-

hibitory laws off the statute books. But the problem as to how to handle this traffic remained.

This question is peculiarly difficult of solution. Several elements contributed to its complexity. In the first place there is involved the traffic in something which is inherently dangerous. In the next place, there is a very widespread and insistent demand for this inherently dangerous substance. In the third place a great deal of money is involved. There are tremendous financial interests at stake.

Under the circumstances, cities, counties, states and nation cannot ignore the subject because of the fact that the restricted traffic in liquor is dangerous to life and safety, but interference is difficult. First, because great numbers of the people object to the frustration of their desires, and second because those who are financially interested in the traffic make alliances with political forces and become almost invincible.

We are reprinting on this page a chart which shows that arrests for drunkenness have increased greatly in the District of Columbia since prohibition was repealed. Another section of the chart shows that automobile accidents have correspondingly increased. The same situation has been found elsewhere. In Massachusetts, for example, there has been an increase of drunkenness and automobile fatalities.

The politicians of both parties gave their unreserved promise that if prohibition laws were repealed, the saloons should not return. The promise was made that an effective form of regulation would be adopted. In many states that pledge has gone absolutely unheeded. Each citizen should, I think, interest himself in the form liquor regulation has taken in his own community. What rules have been made to regulate the sale of liquor? Are these rules enforced? Is there any considerable amount of bootlegging, and, if so, how is it to be accounted for? This question should be closely examined in places where liquor may be purchased legally. In such cases, why should people resort to illegality in securing their supply?

THIS week we present the last of the three articles on conservatism, liberalism and radicalism. Some of you may have wondered why we discuss these different points of view instead of outlining the conflicting policies of the Democratic and Republican parties. The reason is that the differences which we have outlined represent the real and fundamental cleavages in American political thinking. The differences between the parties are for the most part unreal and temporary. The contests in Congress next winter will almost without question be fought out not between the Republicans and the Democrats, but between the conservatives on the one side, and the liberals, assisted in some cases by the radicals, on the other.

Parties are pretty sure to be in the background during the next few months now that the political campaign is over. There will be a number of smaller groups or blocs in Congress. Most of the more important contests will, as I have suggested, be waged along the conservative versus the liberal line, but several issues will be independent of that alignment. The money question, for example, will be out in the forefront. It is a question as to whether or not we should inflate the currency. Now, liberals, conservatives, radicals, Democrats and Republicans are all divided on that issue. They are also divided on the question of the soldiers' bonus. But a study of the fundamental principles of conservatism, liberalism and radicalism will help one to understand most of the important issues which are now prominent in American politics.

There are two kinds of voters. Those who will vote for your candidate, and the blankety-blank ignorant prejudiced fools.

—Atlanta Journal

Sometimes we can't help getting the impression that the big idea is to have the armament race and the human race end simultaneously.

—Boston Herald

The political pot is beginning to simmer but won't boil much. The old apple sauce will be only warmed over.

—Albany Knickerbocker Press

The C.C.C. will be continued. Another paradox—planting more trees to get out of the woods.

—Flint (Mich.) Journal



JOURNEY'S END

—Elderman in Washington Post

Something to Think About

1. Why do the radicals say that the profit system or capitalist system of industry can operate successfully only if industry is expanding? What were the conditions in American life which have brought about an expansion of industry? To what extent are those conditions now changing?
2. Explain clearly what will happen according to the radical point of view if business men generally receive large profits. What will they do with this money? What will be the result of their investments?
3. What do the radicals predict as to the future of American industry?
4. After having read the series on conservatism, liberalism and radicalism, how do you class yourself?
5. If you should wish more information about either of these points of view, where would you expect to find it?
6. Compare Japanese Asiatic policy with the American Monroe Doctrine.
7. If you were a Japanese what position would you take about naval equality or naval disarmament? As an American would you be satisfied with the demands which you think the Japanese might reasonably make?
8. Is there a real or only an imaginary conflict of interest between the Americans and the British on the one hand and the Japanese on the other?
9. Is the sale of alcoholic liquor permitted legally in your state? If so, how is the traffic regulated? Has there been an increase or decrease, since prohibition was repealed, of traffic accidents? Is bootlegging still a problem? If so, why?
10. How do you account for the fact that American diplomacy reached its peak in the early period of our history?
11. Do you believe that the soldiers' bonus should be paid at this time?
12. What are the principal revisions proposed for the French constitution?

REFERENCES: (a) Business and Government. Scribner's, November, 1934, pp. 257-265. (b) Masters of Use. Forum, August, 1934, pp. 73-77. (c) Roosevelt Calms Capital. The New Republic, October 24, 1934, pp. 296-298. (d) Naval Problems of 1935. Foreign Affairs, October, 1934, pp. 45-58. (e) The Coming Struggle for Sea Power. Current History, October, 1934, pp. 9-16. (f) Japan's Case for Sea Power. Current History, November, 1934, pp. 129-135.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Isoroku Yamamoto (ee-so-ro'koo ya-ma-mo'to—all o's as in go), Tsuneo Matsudairo (tsoo'-nay-o ma-tsoo-di-ro-i as in ice, o as in go), Prajadhikop (prah-jah'dee-pok—o as in hot), Jaeger (yay'ger—g as in go), Plutarco Calles (ploot-ar'ko kah'yays), Rodriguez (ro-dree'gayth), Cardenas (kar-day'nas).

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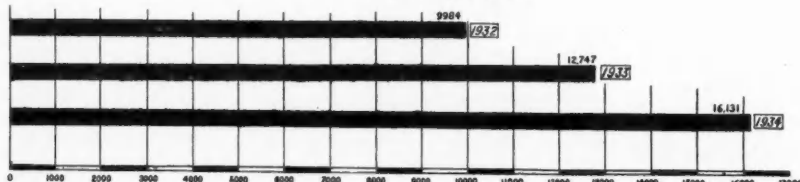
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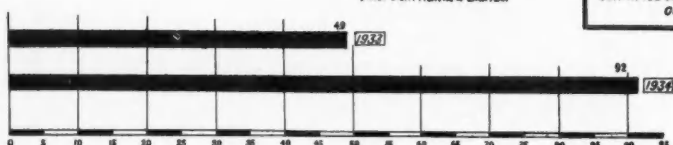
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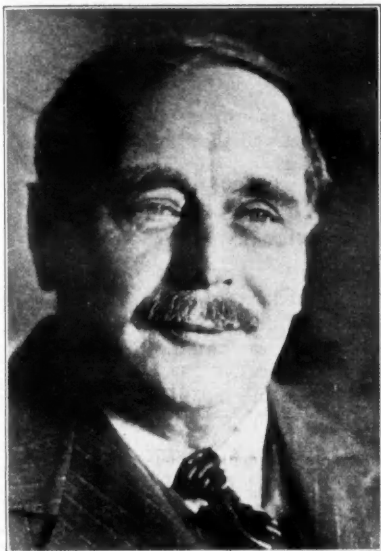


WASHINGTON
FEDERATION OF CHURCHES
COMMITTEE ON CIVIC AFFAIRS
OCT. 22, 1934

THE NATION'S CAPITAL CANNOT BE PROUD OF THIS RECORD



A Leader of Thought—Among the men who have influenced thinking in this generation, H. G. Wells occupies a very high place. He has an honest and inquiring mind. He puts it to work upon all kinds of problems, and he works continuously and tirelessly. He has produced an amazing number of books and pamphlets and newspaper articles. He writes in a popular style so that he has been able to attract millions of readers. So while he has never been successful in formulating definite programs and in carrying them out to successful conclusion, he has seen a multitude of problems with fresh eyes, and his writings have helped millions to gain new points of view and to break away from the conventional interpretations and traditional beliefs of their day.



H. G. WELLS

Wells has written a great many novels, most of them dealing with social, economic and political questions. He has written fanciful works, describing Utopian conditions which he hopes will some day prevail. He has undertaken to delve into the future. His "Shape of Things to Come" is a forecast of civilization's future. He has written on economic and political and scientific subjects. He has prepared and described games for children, and he has made important contributions to the writing and study of history. His "Outline of History" marks him as a great popularizer, for it is so written as to make an appeal to thousands of readers all over the world to whom history had heretofore been a closed book.

Now Mr. Wells has written another book, and it may turn out to be one of the best and most interesting of them all. It is his "Experiment in Autobiography" (New York: The Macmillan Company, \$4.00). In this book Wells tells the story of his life, of the problems he has met, of the working of his mind. The reader finds here practically the whole of the Wells philosophy. It is valuable not only for its restating of the author's ideas, but as a study of a very remarkable man. His achievements seem the more phenomenal when account is taken of the conditions of his early life. The disadvantages under which he labored, and the manner by which he surmounted them are thus described by the New York *Herald Tribune*:

"Herbert George Wells was born in 1866, the son of a gardener and a lady's maid who had taken up shopkeeping after both had been dismissed as incompetent in their work. The shop, which was at once a miserable home and a repository of secondhand furniture, pots, pans and general furnishings, did not pay and the family would have become public charges, no doubt, if Wells's father had not eked out an extra income from professional cricket. The livingroom-and-kitchen was in a dank

basement, the upstairs bedrooms were filled with vermin; the family cesspool was within a few feet of the well from which they pumped their drinking water. Wells's mother was patient, pious, long-suffering and incompetent: she never learned how to cook properly or how to keep house. His father was agile and able-bodied but shiftless, irresponsible, naive and easily defrauded. . . .

"Wells was indentured for four years as a draper's apprentice and he hated it. He served two years of his apprenticeship and hated it so thoroughly that he could do nothing right and contemplated suicide rather than continue in such a petty groove all his life. A broken leg in his childhood had forced inactivity upon him and had developed in him a habit of reading. Before he broke away from his draper's apprenticeship he read much, particularly in the field of science. When an opportunity came for him to teach, he threw up his apprenticeship, much to the chagrin and anxiety of his mother, who had paid £50 for his indenture. At Midhurst grammar school he was student as much as teacher and, after a period of eager and ambitious study there, a series of 'happy accidents' gave him an opportunity to study biology under the great Huxley at the Normal School of Science in London. . . .

"After some years of teaching and study he gravitated into journalism, but even after some degree of success in that he still thought of his career as being that of a biologist and only incidentally as that of a writer until he began to suffer from emotional complications which found release in fiction."

The Housing Chief—Occasionally Administrator Harold Ickes appears before various groups in the Public Works Administration to discuss their work with them. Recently in the course of such a discussion with the members of the Housing Division, he remarked that theirs was the most efficient department in the entire PWA, and that Col. Horatio Hackett, director of the division, was responsible. Anyone of the band of architects who are hard at work making standard plans for model apartments to be erected throughout the United States would have endorsed his statement. Col. Hackett has the popularity of a man who knows his job and enjoys cooperating with other people in doing it.

A versatile character, he has had excellent training for his present task. West Point remembers him not only as a good student but as an all-American football player. After graduating he adopted architecture as a profession and worked at it until the war. While commanding a regiment at the front he was severely wounded, and his present energy, in spite of the disabilities he suffered, is a source of wonder to his friends. After the war he joined the well-known architectural firm of Holabird and Root in Chicago as one

of its leading members.

Col. Hackett had just finished supervising the erection of the state capitol at Bismarck, N. D., said to be the most beautiful in the country, when he was summoned to his present position.

As head of the Housing Division, it is his job to see that the finest possible model apartment houses will spring up in the slum districts now being razed in many of our larger cities.

The employment of thousands of men in the building industry depends on the speed and efficiency with which the plans are prepared by his division. But Col. Hackett only expands under the pressure of responsibility. He goes through the week's work with crackling vitality, and relaxes over the week-end by acting as referee at football games.

Japanese Naval Spokesman—Last week Isoroku Yamamoto, the square-jawed senior rear admiral of the Japanese navy, reached London to begin preliminary talks about the naval conference between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan in 1935. The results of the conference are bound to affect Japan's prestige in the Orient, and the choice of a practiced sea-fighter as well as a technical expert like the admiral indicates her determination to abolish the existing 5:5:3 ratio.

Though still in his early fifties, Yamamoto belongs to the "old guard" of the Japanese navy—those who believe in a strong fleet on frankly nationalistic principles. His present prestige at the Mikado's court is the reward of a lifetime devoted to building such a fleet. As a young graduate from Japan's naval academy he took part in the Russo-Japanese war, losing three fingers during the engagement in which the Russian fleet was destroyed in the Sea of Japan.

Having been in Europe five times previously on official business, notably as an expert at the 1930 London Conference,



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE © Wide World
Whose memoirs are an important contribution to the history of the World War.

Admiral Yamamoto is an old hand at conferences. This year he has returned with the conviction that Japan's prestige requires abandonment of the obnoxious 5:5:3 ratio. Instead he is suggesting equality with Great Britain and the United States in total tonnage, coupled with strict limitation of "offensive" weapons—such as battleships and airplane cruisers. The Japanese claim that the present agreement humiliates them in the eyes of China. Although neither Great Britain nor the United States is very favorable to this argument, it is likely that Yamamoto will win at least theoretical equality of tonnage for the island empire.

We Recommend—

The Eve of Conflict—Stephen A. Douglas and The Needless War. By George Fort Milton. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin. \$5.00.

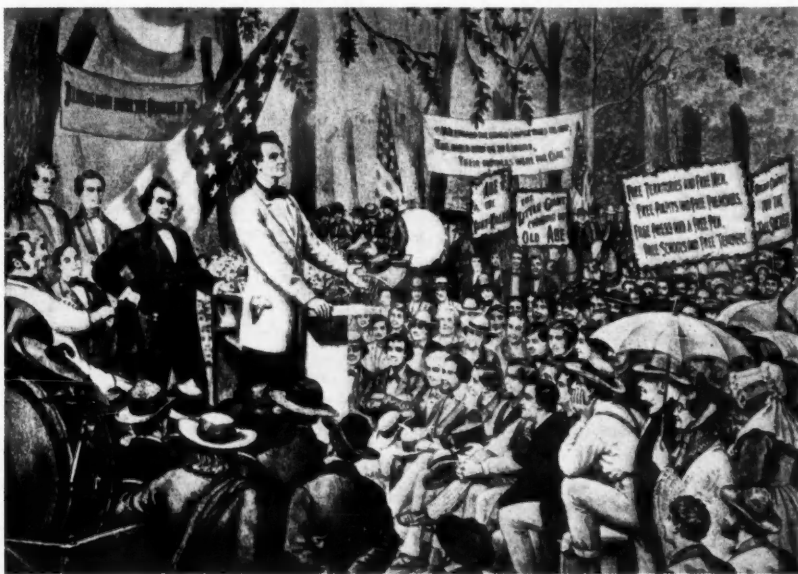
A study of the life of Stephen A. Douglas and particularly of the politics of the period preceding the Civil War, scholarly and yet strongly biased in favor of Douglas. The author believes that if Douglas had been elected to the presidency in 1860, the Civil War could have been prevented. Douglas saw things from a national point of view and was less influenced by sectionalism and emotionalism than the other leaders of the period. There were a number of minorities at that time, declares the author, who were intent upon selfish purposes. Douglas was concerned with national development and national expansion. With him other issues were subordinated. It is interesting to speculate upon what might have happened if some particular set of circumstances in the past had been different. The speculation in which Mr. Milton engages as to what would have happened if Douglas had defeated Lincoln is especially interesting.

War Memoirs of David Lloyd George, III, 1916-1917. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. \$4.00.

Here is a report of political and military developments in Europe during the crucial war years 1916-1917, prepared by the man who at that time was premier of England. It is particularly interesting to those who are concerned with war strategy and with wartime British politics.

Let the Band Play Dixie. By Roark Bradford. New York: Harpers. \$2.00.

The author of "Ol' Man Adam an' His Chillun," from which the Pulitzer Prize play "The Green Pastures" was made, introduces some more of his happy-go-lucky Negroes. They loiter on shady porches or wander through the backlands of Louisiana, remembering nothing so well as the episodes in which they figured during the Civil War. A pleasant book which is rich both in humor and in knowledge of southern Negro character.



ONE OF THE FAMOUS LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

Would the Civil War have been avoided by the election of Douglas instead of Lincoln in 1860? George Fort Milton, author of "The Eve of Conflict—Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War," thinks so.

The Radicals Attack the Profit System

(Continued from page 1, column 1)

true, we must understand how business in America has operated in the past and how it still undertakes to operate. This is a matter of great importance, and one which must be understood.

Working of Capitalism

Under capitalism the business man makes as much money as he can. He pays out as much in the form of wages as he is obliged to and no more. When things are going well he has a surplus above expenses. This surplus is his profit. These profits he puts back into business. He does not put all of them back of course. He uses part of them to pay the expenses of his family. But if he is at all successful, he has a surplus above present expenses, and that goes into an expansion of his plants or factories. Perhaps he does not expand



—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis POST-DISPATCH
THE MODERN PARADOX

his own plant. He may invest the money in some other way. He may lend it or buy stocks or bonds. But it finds its way eventually into the improvement or expansion of business enterprises. If business were not expanding, if new factories were not being improved or enlarged anywhere, there would be no place for this surplus money—no place for these profits to be put.

So long as the business men are expanding their plants and enlarging their enterprises, things go along very well. If this work is proceeding fast enough, there will not be unemployment in the country because very many laborers will be employed with the construction work and in the production of materials. But this new equipment, these new factories, these enlarged plants, can produce increasing quantities of goods. If the enlargement of the plants and factories goes on long enough and fast enough, there is always a danger that more goods will be produced than people can buy. Then there must be a shutdown of production, and depression results.

Buying Power Must Increase

It is necessary that purchasing power increase as fast as producing power does. If the plants and factories are enlarging and if, at the same time, the demand for goods increases, we have a condition of prosperity. If the profits of industry go into new plants and factories, and if purchasing power does not increase, then we have depression.

In the past purchasing power has been increasing. The market for goods of all kinds has been expanding. Business men have had profits. They have put these profits into enlarged factories. The

enlarged factories have produced more, and the enlarged output has been purchased due to the fact of expanding markets. It is the argument of the radicals that the day of expanding markets has now come to a close, creating a permanent crisis. But before we take up that point we should go back into history to see how it was that the markets have been expanding heretofore.

Until comparatively recently we have had a growing population. Manufacturers and other producers knew that they could produce more and more and yet find markets for the goods because every year saw greater numbers of men, women and children to be fed and clothed and housed and furnished with necessities and luxuries. At the same time there was a new country to develop. There was always the western frontier. There were railroads and factories and all kinds of equipment to be supplied to the new and undeveloped lands. This need for new material created a market for goods and, like growing population, justified an increase of plant or factory capacity. Another condition was favorable. We had a large foreign trade. An increasing quantity of the goods we could produce could be sold abroad. Trade was relatively free. Our farm products could be produced cheaply and sold to foreigners, and other conditions encouraged foreign trade and built up foreign markets. The foreigners, as well as our own increasing population, and the needs of western development, helped to consume the increasing production of the expanding American industries.

There was no danger at that time that our industries might develop too rapidly or that they might produce more than the people could buy. As a matter of fact, we were having to borrow money from abroad to build new industrial structures.

Now the situation has changed. For one thing our population is not increasing much. It appears certain that before long it will be stationary. The rate of increase is not high even now. So, we cannot go ahead enlarging our factories and putting in new machines with the certain knowledge that the increased output will be purchased by increasing numbers of people. Furthermore, we no longer have an undeveloped West to be supplied with factories and railroads and machines of all kinds. That market is drying up. To cap the climax, our foreign trade is dwindling to almost nothing. We have not the

space here to describe all the conditions which are killing foreign trade. The fact is, however, that foreigners are not taking as large a part of the product of our factories as they formerly did. There is danger, therefore, that if we go ahead increasing our equipment; if we go ahead putting money into factories and machinery of all kinds, we will be producing more than the American people can consume. That is what happened a few years ago. That is why we fell into this terrible depression. If we are ever to get out of it, then we must increase purchasing power so that the people can buy what the factories are producing.

How are we to do this, now that our population is not increasing; now that we have no West to develop; now that foreign trade is about gone; now that, due to the rapid invention of labor-saving machinery, factories are producing much more per man than they formerly did?

Under the new conditions there is just one way that we can get along so as to avoid chaos, say the radicals. We must quit putting so much of the income from industry back into business. We must quit saving out large parts of the income which each business enterprise makes and investing it back into business. We must distribute nearly all of what businesses make among the employees. Then they will have enough money to buy what is being produced. Thus, and thus only, can we avoid desperate depressions and wholesale unemployment. Thus alone can we have stable industry.

Wider Distribution

But consider for a moment what that means. It means doing away with profits. It means that the workers shall have the income from industry and that profits shall be abolished. For so long as there are profits there will be an enlargement of plants. There is no other place for profits to go. And yet expanded plants and factories under present conditions means the production of more than can be sold and it therefore means depression, unemployment, and chaos.

Thus the radicals build up their case. They argue that the only salvation of American society, and of American business for that matter, is the establishment of conditions under which there will not be profits, under which production shall not be for profit but for use. The radicals believe that if we do not have that sort of redistribution of income, unemployment on a scale as great or perhaps far greater than at present will be a permanent condition of American life. They say that if there are millions upon millions of unemployed, these unemployed must either be fed and taken care of by the government or else they must starve. If they are cared for by the government, taxes will be so high as to ruin all business and throw finances into utter chaos. If we undertake to let them starve, there will be revolution and chaos. The only way, then, to the establishment of orderly and peaceful recovery and permanent prosperity is frankly to do away with the profit system. They disagree among themselves upon the precise steps which must be taken in order to bring about that condition. Most of them appear to believe that conditions after a while will become so chaotic that the government will have to step in and



—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis POST-DISPATCH
"ARE THEY TALKING ABOUT ME?"

operate the industries, give all the people employment and then distribute the product among the people, reserving only enough of a surplus in the case of each industry to carry on such expansion as may be justified.

Our Capacity Great

The capacity of the American people to produce the things they need is very great. We have a great wealth of farms and factories and shops. We could produce enough, say the radicals, to give all the people a very high standard of living. But we have never done that. We did not do it even in 1929. The reason was that, while profits were high, wages were rela-



—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis POST-DISPATCH
JUST BLIND

tively low. So little was distributed to the people doing the work of the nation that they could not buy enough goods to give them the high standard of living. If the factories had produced more, the goods would have been unbought. If, at this time, wages had been higher, the argument goes, purchasing power would have been increased, standards of living would have risen, the production of farms and factories could have been gradually increased without creating an unsold surplus. If today, it is contended, we should put all our productive capacity to work, and if we should improve that machinery, we could supply enough so that all the people might live well. But it will do no good to produce it unless the people are supplied with purchasing power. It is necessary, therefore, to bring about a drastic and fundamental change in the distribution of income if we are not to continue in a state of industrial stagnation.

The radicals attack the orthodox theory
(Concluded on page 7, column 4)



—Talburt in Washington NEWS
"THE VERY FOUNDATION OF OUR CIVILIZATION IS BEING UNDERMINED!"

The Battle for Naval Supremacy Goes On

(Concluded from page 1, column 4)

new naval treaty, the world will be without any system of limitation by the end of 1936 and the nations will be free to go ahead building as large and powerful navies as they see fit. All the efforts of the last dozen years to limit sea armaments will have been wasted, and the world will revert to the pre-war system of boundless competition and rivalry.

The Background

Never before has an international conference of this kind been prepared under more unfavorable conditions. The world today is anything but disarmament-minded. The contrary is the case, and, whether it be on land, in the air, or on water, all nations seem to be increasing rather than reducing their weapons of war. National policies have come to a head-on collision. Unlike 1922, when the Washington pact was concluded, the people of all countries are no longer clamoring to be freed of the heavy burden of expenditures going for arms, and governments are ever looking toward the building up of their defense systems.

In order to understand the issues involved in the present London conversations, it is necessary to look back at the provisions of the 1922 and the 1930 naval treaties. And since the present discussions concern only the three major powers, we need examine only the provisions of those pacts which affect Japan, Great Britain and the United States.

At the Washington conference, an agreement was reached only on battle, or capital, ships and on aircraft carriers. Nothing was done about the other sea vessels—cruisers, destroyers and submarines. But the 1922 treaty was considered a great step forward, for it did place a limit upon two types of naval equipment which were causing considerable friction and competition among the three major powers. The treaty provided that Great Britain and the United States should be allowed practically the same tonnage of battleships, whereas Japan's tonnage was to be only three-fifths that of either of the others. This is the origin of the famous 5:5:3 ratio of which so much has since been said. The powers were of course given time to bring about this ratio in the size of their navies, but the main objective was to establish a naval arrangement in which eventually Britain

and the United States would have equality and Japan only 60 per cent of their battleship strength.

1930 Treaty

The London conference eight years later went a step further than the Washington and succeeded in laying down terms for the building of auxiliary seacraft—destroyers, cruisers and submarines. Here, again, the ratio system of tonnage was applied. In two of the three categories, Britain and the United States were allowed practical parity, with Japan falling behind. In the case of cruisers, the ratio was approximately 10:10:6; in that of destroyers 10:10:7; and in the building of submarines the three nations had absolute equality. Thus it can be seen that both the Washington and the London treaties provided that the Japanese navy strength should be between 60 and 70 per cent of that of the United States or Great Britain.



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NORMAN H. DAVIS

With this much in mind, we can now proceed to the present conversations in London. The principal issue separating the powers is that of naval equality. Japan frankly wants to do away with the ratio system. She no longer wants to be bound by international arrangements which place her in a position of naval inferiority to either the United States or Britain. During the last three years she has consistently carried forward a policy of expansion. The opinion is frequently voiced in this country that Japan has clearly set out as her national ideal the domination of the entire Asiatic continent. By her Manchurian adventure in the fall of 1931, her Shanghai escapade that winter, and her subsequent maneuvers on the Asiatic continent, she has made it clear that she wants to be the guardian and protector of Asia. She has outlined for herself something of a Monroe Doctrine for Asia, just as we have for the American continent.

Japan's Demands

In order to carry out this program in Asia, Japan feels that she must have a strong navy—a navy as strong as that of the United States or Great Britain. She declares that she would have little chance of defending herself, protecting her commerce, if the United States and Britain should combine their navies against her, even though they would have the great disadvantage of operating in Japan's home waters. It is largely for this reason that the Japanese have insisted so vigorously upon the right to parity or equality.

The catch is that neither the United States nor Great Britain is willing to make this concession. Both feel that the Japanese demands are unjustifiable in the light of ex-

isting world conditions. By virtue of her geographic position, Japan could easily defend herself against a foreign foe, they assert. No navy, single-handedly or combined with another navy, could successfully wage a naval war against her, since they would have to operate at such great distances from their bases of supplies. Moreover, both the United States and Britain have need of a greater naval machine to protect themselves than has Japan. Britain's system of naval defense has to cover practically the entire globe, since she must defend not only her overseas colonies and other possessions but must be largely responsible for the defense of the dominions. The United States has two great ocean fronts to defend in case of war, which would necessarily prevent her from concentrating her sea power in one region. Japan, on the other hand, has no such need of naval strength, since her region of defense is strictly limited. American and British spokesmen point out that Japan has nothing to fear from a concerted drive by the two countries and that if she will examine the history of the relations of the three countries she will be able to see that.

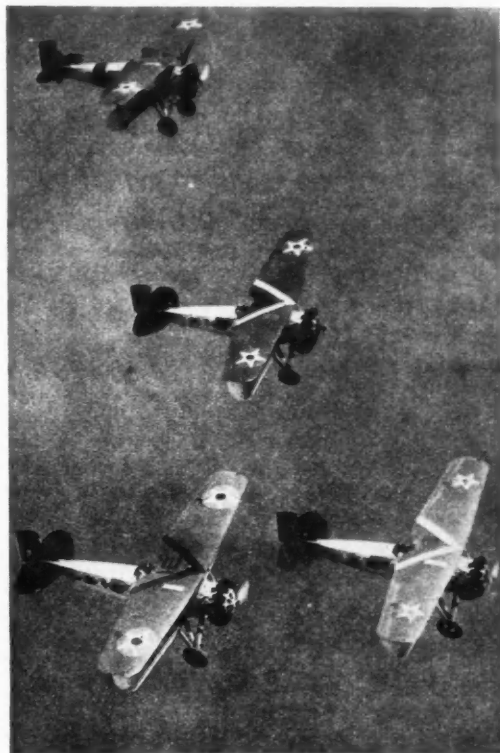
This line of reasoning leaves the Japanese unmoved. They insist that their need for equality is real. Would the world-wide opposition to Japanese policy in 1931 and 1932 indicate that she has nothing to fear from a combined attack against her? Japan asks. And what about the actual menace of Russia and the potential menace of China? Is that not something to think about? In brief, the Japanese are no longer willing to compromise on the size of their navy as they did in 1922 and 1930. They want equality and equality they will get or else they will listen to nothing.

Japan has indicated, however, that, if she is granted the legal right to equality, she will be willing to come to an understanding with Britain and the United States—to enter into something of a "gentlemen's agreement"—not to build her navy to full treaty strength. But British and American statesmen so far have turned a deaf ear on the proposal, for they want nothing short of an agreement in black and white, specifically setting forth all details of the naval programs.

Conflicting Interests

Thus the issue of parity is clearly drawn. In all probability, the whole scheme for a continuation of naval limitation will founder on this issue. And it is a really big issue, for it involves more than the mere question of ships and submarines and guns. It takes into account the entire future relations of the Orient with the Western world. Britain and the United States, and several other Western nations, have vital interests in the Far East. Since before the turn of the century, they have insisted upon the maintenance of the "open door" in China, that is, the guarantee of equal rights to all countries in China. They hold that by Japan's seizure of Manchuria, the open-door policy was flagrantly violated and that Japan has since continually flouted the rest of the world. In a word, they do not accept the Japanese contention that she is the guardian of the Far East and that the world has no right to interfere.

It is apparent, of course, that if Japan wins her point in the naval discussions and is allowed to build a navy as strong as the American or British, their hands would be pretty much tied, for Japan would be in a



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WINGS OF THE FLEET

position to do about as she pleased in Asia. They feel that their last hope of keeping Japan in line and protecting their own national interests from Japanese encroachment lies in preventing her from attaining equality in naval strength.

Thus, it is a gloomy outlook which prevails in London. Day after day the delegates meet, first the British and Japanese, then the American and Japanese, but the deadlock is complete. The Japanese say they are prepared to remain in London a year, if necessary. And just now it seems that all three parties could talk for a year without changing their positions.

THE RADICAL VIEWPOINT

(Concluded from page 6)

of recovery as being unsuited to the conditions of the present day. They say that if we go back to the old plan of allowing business men to make larger profits, putting them back into plant; if we allow them to pay the low wages, there may be a momentary stimulation to business, but almost immediately the enlarged plants will be overproducing. It will be found that the people cannot buy the product. Then there will be a closing of factories again, with increasing unemployment.

The radicals feel that the liberals, as represented by the Roosevelt administration, have good intentions. It is said that the administration is trying in an ineffectual way to increase purchasing power, but that it is not really grappling with the problem of redistributing the nation's income. Many of the radicals feel that the Roosevelt administration, by its attempts at mild reform, is preventing even the temporary recovery which might otherwise come, and that it is not establishing a permanent and dependable recovery of its own.

These philosophical radicals whose views we have been describing do not advocate a revolution. They do not care for a forceful overturning of the government or of our economic system. They predict, however, that unless the fundamental changes they advocate are made we will sink into deeper depression, possibly after brief intervals of apparent prosperity, that we will come from time to time to crisis as bad as, or worse than, that of March, 1933, and that, eventually, the government will be obliged to step in and take over the productive machinery as the only alternative to chaos.



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SHALL THE NATIONS GIVE UP ATTEMPTS TO LIMIT THEIR NAVIES? THE ANSWER IS NOW BEING FRAMED IN LONDON.



IN THE first volume of his memoirs, Mr. David Lloyd George, Britain's great war statesman, makes a very searching remark about the role played by personalities in the shaping of history. "It is a mistaken view of history,"

The effect of personality upon history

he writes, "to assume that the episodes were entirely due to fundamental causes which could not be averted, and that they were not precipitated or postponed by the intervention of personality. The appearance of one dominating individual in a critical position at a decisive moment has often altered the course of events for years and even generations. A gifted and resolute person has often postponed for centuries a catastrophe which appeared imminent and which but for him would have befallen."

Whether Mr. Lloyd George's view of history is entirely correct is a matter of dispute. But certainly the element of personality has played, and continues to play, an overwhelming part in American diplomacy. The men who have directed our foreign policy, who have handled our relations with other nations, have been the determining factor even before our national existence was recognized. As we follow the course of American history we will be impressed with this role of personality in American diplomacy. How many times have critical moments been successfully passed by the skill, astuteness and brilliance of an American ambassador; and contrariwise, how many times has a tactless diplomat so bungled matters as to bring us to the verge of war with foreign nations! Today, as yesteryear, whether it be in the negotiation of a treaty of peace or in conversations dealing with naval disarmament, the element of personality is all important.

IT WOULD be well for the student of history to pay particular attention to the personalities which directed American diplomacy during the period he is now studying, and to compare the American diplomacy of that day with the diplomacy of today.

The heyday of American diplomacy

Never since in our history have our diplomats reached the stature attained by those who directed our foreign policy during the formative years of the republic. It is no exaggeration to say that the very best men were engaged in carrying on the dealings with European nations. The degree of statesmanship reached at that period has not been matched since. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, and a host of other brilliant national figures crossed the seas to represent us at the courts of the kings and queens of Europe.

And, generally speaking, these early diplomatists got what they went after. They outwitted the skilled diplomats of all lands. No small degree of the early success of our nation was due to the caliber of those who directed our foreign relations. Under the conditions of the day—the insignificant position of America among the family of nations, the internal confusion of this country—it was almost unbelievable that they should have been so signally successful. The favorable terms of the treaty of peace concluded with England after the Revolutionary War and that concluded after the War of 1812 are but two examples of the early victories of American diplomacy. And it is hard to conceive of victories such as these with-

The Decline of American Diplomacy

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

out the element of personality. To assume the opposite is to disregard the roles of the men who directed our diplomacy at that time.

THE reasons why our early ministers and other diplomatic figures were so eminently successful are frequently ignored by the student of history. It is often assumed that the men who went overseas were raw and unfamiliar with the fine points of diplomacy. The picture of Benjamin Franklin at the sumptuous court of Louis XIV, for example, is often conjured in the

Early diplomats well schooled in their career

mind of the student to bolster this legend. But the legend is entirely erroneous. Our early diplomats were neither uncouth nor untrained. They had, most of them at least, been schooled in the arts of diplomacy and were well fitted for the critical tasks conferred upon them. Franklin, for example, did not make his debut in the diplomatic arena at the Versailles court. He had long served, during the colonial period, as an agent for the colonists in Great Britain. He had previously represented Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Georgia in London, successfully pressing the claims of these colonies before the British government.

Franklin was no exception to the general run of diplomats. Though differing in the details of their early diplomatic training, the others had nevertheless spent long years learning the art of negotiation with foreign powers. John Quincy Adams, certainly one of our outstanding diplomats, was almost born in the diplomatic service. At the age of 14, he went to Russia as secretary to Francis Dana, American minister to that country. He was at Paris during the negotiations with Great Britain following the Revolutionary War. At 27 he became a full-fledged minister in his own right, and by the time the War of 1812 had ended he was a seasoned diplomat and was able to hold his own with the British negotiators at Ghent.

One factor which contributed mightily to the success of our diplomacy during this early period was the fact that the personnel of the service changed very little. Ministers were shifted from one post to another to meet the needs of the hour. Thus they gained a wealth of experience and were in a position to deal with the delicate problems that arose from time to time. That was the only time in our history, perhaps, that we have come near to adopting the European system of keeping a more or less permanent diplomatic service. And because this practice worked so well under the confederation that, when the question of establishing a permanent department of foreign affairs or department of state in the national government came up, many political leaders favored modeling that branch of the government along the lines of the British diplomatic service. Had they been victorious, the subsequent history of American diplomacy might have been entirely different.

BUT as we know, American diplomacy in later years followed the same lines as American politics. With the rise and growth of the two-party system at home, the foreign service was used by the politicians to further their

Diplomacy later affected by political winds

own ends. As soon as there was an overturn in domestic politics, all the ambassadors and ministers, as well as many of the underlings, including clerks and stenographers, came scurrying home and a new crew was sent out. In most cases, the higher positions were ladled out as rewards to those who showed financial largesse during the political campaign. Needless to say, many of them knew no more about diplomacy than they knew about running the Bank of England. With few exceptions American diplomacy of later periods is something of which we have little occasion to be proud.

During the last decade or so, many attempts have been made to put the diplomatic service of the United States on a higher plane. True progress has been made in this field. All the evils of the old political favoritism are not found today, although many of them still prevail. There is today such a thing as a career diplomatist, a man who has risen from the ranks and who occupies a position of importance and prominence in the service. But the top posts are still political plums bestowed upon loyal party members, and it is a rare sight to see a man who started out as an embassy clerk rise to the position of ambassador.

It is extremely doubtful that American diplomacy will ever again reach the heights of former days. There is little reason to expect the rise of a latter-day Franklin or a John Quincy Adams. We have already indicated why American diplomacy has altered so radically from the earlier period. But we have not told the whole story. Besides the political reasons, there are two other determining factors. In the first place, the salaries paid by the American government to its diplomatic corps are miserably low; so low in fact as to preclude the acceptance of a post by anyone who does not possess a substantial private income of his own. While an adequate financial backing may well enable an ambassador to discharge his social obligations in good order, it is no guarantee of ability and proficiency in the execution of truly diplomatic functions.

THE second point to be borne in mind in considering the problems of American diplomacy today deals with changed physical conditions in the world. Before the era of the cable and the transatlantic telephone, our diplomats

Why opportunities for statesmanship have been lost

were left largely on their own initiative. Weeks elapsed before they could communicate with the central government, and they were consequently obliged to make decisions for themselves. Today, Washington keeps constantly in touch with its diplomats abroad and no important step can be taken without its direction. Our diplomats can carry on their own routine matters, but when a truly big issue in our foreign policy presents itself, minute instructions come from Washington and Washington has the final say. Thus, all other things being equal, it is doubtful, because of the present communication facilities, whether our diplomacy could today attain the level of statesmanship for which it was once so genuinely renowned.

Glimpses of the Past

Ten Years Ago This Week

Election news crowds everything else out of the papers this week. Calvin Coolidge and Charles Dawes were elected over John W. Davis and Charles W. Bryan by a much larger margin than had been expected. The Republican party also gained strength in both the House and the Senate.

Ku Klux Klan disturbances in Ohio have caused the town of Niles to be put under martial law. Several shootings resulted from an attempt by the Knights of the Flaming Circle to break up a KKK convention.

The East is experiencing a severe drought; in New York City there has been no rain for more than a month. Forest fires are doing a great deal of damage in Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland and all the New England states. Maryland is talking about drafting all its citizens into a fire-fighting force if the blazes in that state are not checked soon.

General Machado has been elected president of Cuba. As usual, the defeated party charges that force and bribery were used in the election.

The government is accusing oil magnate Doheny of obtaining oil leases on naval resources by fraud.

The two outstanding football teams of the country this season are Notre Dame and Illinois. The Four Horsemen from South Bend are galloping over all the goal lines in sight, while Red Grange is still unstoppable.

Radio pages in the daily papers are printing instructions which tell how you can build your own crystal set for local reception.

The so-called Provisional Government has seized Peking and forced the boy emperor to give up his title. This is the second time Pu-Yi has been driven from the throne.

Because many of the Italian newspapers are suppressed by the government it is hard to learn much about the rioting that has taken place in Rome and other Italian cities the last few days. The fighting has been between the Fascisti and other patriotic societies of war veterans such as the Combattenti. Mussolini and his Fascisti apparently are still in power.

While they were on an inspection tour in a Bavarian village, a group of officers from the Allied armies still in Germany were stoned by a mob. Suspicion has fallen on supporters of Adolf Hitler.

France has reduced compulsory military service from 18 months to only a year. Young men are needed for peaceful production that will repair the damages of the war.

Revolution is the order of the day in Spain. Because the Cortes does not meet and the newspapers are censored, politics is all under cover and no one knows what to expect next.

Mahatma Gandhi has given in to the Swarajist National party. He has agreed to suspend his non-cooperation program except for the refusal to wear cloth made outside of India.